DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 059 692 HE 002 862

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TITLE The Responsibility for Reform in Higher Education.
INSTITUTION Carnegie Corp. of New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE 71
NOTE 15p.; Reprinted from the 1971 Annual Report of the Carnegie Corporation of New York

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS *Educational Accountability; *Educational Change; *Educational Development; *Higher Education; *Innovation

ABSTRACT

Many people would agree that, among the major institutions of our society, none is riper for objective reappraisal than higher education. Indeed, it is now the subject of intensive study and debate on individual campuses, in legislative and executive bodies, and by national commissions. This paper takes into account the functions of higher education, some possible approaches to reform, and measures that may be taken to lighten the burden on higher education. In summary, it is apparent that the higher educational system in this country performs a wide range of functions that have enormous economic and social value. It is also obvious that public expenditure on higher education is a national bargain and not the extravagance many people believe it to be. Finally, it is clear that reform, given the nature of present national dependence on higher education, will have to involve the entire society and will entail the invention of ways to relieve higher education of some of its burdens and lighten others. An understanding and acceptance of these propositions seem necessary to any concerted movement toward fundamental reform. (Author/HS)

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The responsibility for reform in higher education

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The responsibility for reform in higher education

It will be many years before we begin to understand fully the turbulence of our times. Whether this turbulence, and our uncertainty about its meaning, reflect primarily the trauma of withdrawal from an unpopular and mistaken war coinciding with the strains of a national effort to right three centuries of wrong against American minorities, or whether it signifies the onset perhaps of a fundamental cultural and social transformation, we simply cannot now know. And whether this great change, if it is to come, will ultimately prove beneficial or harmful to the nation, we also have little way of predicting.

Whatever the turbulence may indicate, the disequilibrium it is causing in our national life has brought on a healthy mood of skepticism about the operation of some of our major governmental, social, and economic institutions—institutions as varied as the federal regulatory agencies, the health system, and giant industrial corporations. Searching questions are being raised: Are these institutions serving the best interests of the people? Are they adequately accountable? Have they kept in step with the needs of the times?

Many people would agree that, among the major institutions of the society, none is riper for objective reappraisal than higher education. Indeed, it is now the subject of intensive study and debate—on individual campuses, in legislative and executive bodies, and by national commissions, including the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. At no time in its 335-year history has American higher education come under such critical scrutiny.

Ironically, the new skepticism about higher education comes close on the heels of two decades of astonishing development which had brought it to a point where it was enrolling eight and a half million students while serving the needs of the nation in a wide variety of other ways. Only a short time

ago this extraordinary enterprise seemed to many to be rapidly approaching an apogee of success unparalleled in this or any other country.

Certain simplistic charges against higher education have become familiar to the point of staleness. It is accused by radicals of complicity with the political, military, and industrial forces that have "conspired" to create an "oppressive society" and to involve the nation in an "unjust and immoral war." These critics also believe higher education serves primarily to further entrench the dominant classes in American life and to frustrate the kinds of revolutionary social change they regard as desirable.

Conservatives, on the other hand, argue that higher education, through an abdication of responsibility, has played a major part in helping to subvert the very values on which this country was built. It has, they believe, provided a home for the growth of a new youth culture founded on the use of drugs, permissive sexual relationships, and radical political notions and has turned out a product largely unfitted to contribute constructively to our national life.

Finally, there are large numbers of people, of all political persuasions, who believe that higher education has seriously neglected its teaching mission, the very purpose for which it principally exists.

These and other charges, leveled sometimes at something referred to loosely as "the system" or "the university," sometimes at the faculty, and usually at harassed administrators, have filled the air. Much of this criticism is superficial and based on limited evidence. The prescriptions for reform it generates are usually naive or simply punitive and generally have little practical value.

The desire for reform today, however, is by no means a monopoly of extremists, know-nothings, and political opportunists. There is a growing body of responsible, well-informed people, both on and off the campus, who believe the time has come for substantial changes in higher education. Among these people there is now a questioning of once sacrosanct practices, a new willingness to experiment, a new interest in the needs of students, and a new concern for those who have been denied access to higher education or have not been reached by the conventional system. Whether this new mood has been brought on solely by the successive shocks caused by student unrest, declining public confidence, and financial crisis, or whether it reflects some deeper dissatisfaction with what we have wrought in American higher education is not altogether clear. But whatever the cause, it is apparent that the disposition for reform is quite powerful.

People of this outlook are deeply troubled by the breakdown of the traditional consensus which for so long made the campus a readily manageable community. They are disturbed by such developments as the growing unionization of faculty and the tendency for the concept of "rights" to take precedence over other considerations in governance. They are concerned that the explosive growth of higher education in recent years and the pro-

liferation of functions it performs seem to have destroyed any common sense of purpose within the enterprise. Finally, they are increasingly uneasy about the curriculum, wondering whether either the liberal arts as taught or the vocational training given is appropriate to the needs of today's students.

As those responsible for the destinies of particular institutions or groups of institutions face the question of reform, they quite naturally look first to what can be done on their own campuses. They take steps to enlarge student participation in decision making, to increase student contact with faculty through smaller instructional units, to allow periods of off-campus work and study, to improve management practices, to eliminate less important activities, and so on. In short, they do the kinds of things that lie within the power of governing boards, administrators, faculty, and students, working cooperatively, to do.

To call this kind of reform simply tinkering or minor repair work would be unfair, for it can affect an institution in quite fundamental ways. Nevertheless, it falls far short of what is required, because the root of the malaise presently afflicting higher education is to be found not so much in the practices and programs of individual institutions, important as it is that these be improved, as in the nature of the relationship which has developed between higher education and society. As this relationship has deepened and broadened over recent decades in response to vast changes in American life, the pressures on higher education have been raised to an intolerable level, and expectations of it have been created that cannot possibly be fully satisfied. It is, therefore, to the basic nature of the relationship between higher education and society that reform of a fundamental character must be directed. Such reform will require the participation not only of those groups or "estates" which make up the campus community, but of external agencies as well—government, industry, parents, and, indeed, the public at large.

The functions of higher education

The most illuminating approach to an understanding of the present nexus between higher education and American life is simply a description of the functions which our universities, four-year colleges, and community colleges, taken together, actually perform. Generally, these are expressed as "teaching, research, and service," but this traditional triad seems to obscure more than it reveals. A listing of the true range of functions yields a startling picture of an enterprise with a very broad range of purposes, all of which are somehow interrelated and yet many of which also seem to be mutually contradictory. Some of these purposes are well known to the public; others are only vaguely comprehended.

The many functions performed by higher education collectively are, of course, found in individual institutions in widely varying degree. No one

would claim that the University of Minnesota, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Fresno State College, Amherst College, Tuskegee Institute, and Miami Dade Junior College are alike. Differentiation of function among institutions is an important aspect of our higher educational system. Nevertheless, a categorization of functions—of which it is possible to name at least thirteen—yields a composite picture of the total role of higher education in our society that cannot be grasped through analysis of the purposes served by any single institution.

Virtually every American college or junior college devotes some portion of its energy and resources to the *liberal education* of its students. There has always been argument about the precise definition of this concept. Most people would agree, however, that it involves gaining a basic knowledge of man and his societies and the physical world, mastering the language and mathematical skills to reason and express thoughts clearly and logically, and acquiring such habits of mind as intellectual curiosity, the capacity to think critically, and the ability to weigh evidence objectively. There would be less agreement today that the inculcation of any particular set of values constitutes an integral part of liberal education. Few, however, would dispute that the concept does at least include some acquaintance with the principal value systems by which man throughout the ages has attempted to steer his path to some higher destiny.

Collectively, American universities, colleges, and two-year institutions prepare young people for an extraordinary range of professions, subprofessions, and occupations. Some of this training takes place in graduate professional schools, but much of it is at the undergraduate level or in two-year institutions. Although in most instances the credential awarded does not actually constitute a license to practice, the granting of such a license is dependent upon completion of the appropriate training. *De facto*, therefore, higher education not only conducts a vast system of *professional and occupational training* but also serves as a *sorting and selecting mechanism* to route the nation's youth into employment.

Although there are many inefficiencies in the way these two functions are carried out, the contribution higher education makes to our national life in performing them is indisputable. So varied and extensive are these training and sorting activities, the public tends to take them for granted and hence does not fully appreciate their enormous value.

In the United States we place primary reliance on higher educational institutions for the *discovery of new knowledge*. Research is also performed in industry, in independent institutes, and in government installations. Much, however, of the research that ultimately proves to be of greatest value, being unrelated at the time it is done to a recognizably useful product, would never be undertaken except in an academic environment. The significance of

university-based research to the nation's economy, to its security, and to the quality of life of its people is incalculable. Not always appreciated, it is one of the great bargains Americans get when their tax dollars are used for the support of higher education.

Beyond the functions they perform in imparting the principal elements of liberal and vocational and professional education to large numbers of young people entering adulthood, and in the discovery of new knowledge, our colleges and universities have a special responsibility for the conservation, and transmission from generation to generation, of existing knowledge in its more complex or abstruse forms. In meeting this responsibility, they serve an indispensable purpose as *custodians of our cultural heritage*. It is to maintain the enormous accumulated store of humanistic and scientific knowledge which mankind now possesses that large sums of money are spent on faculty with highly specialized training and on great libraries, laboratories, and teaching museums. Without this investment we would constantly be engaged in a fruitless rediscovery of old knowledge. Cut off from our history, we would lack that sense of perspective about ourselves and our current social institutions so fundamental to enlightened judgment.

Many colleges and universities also sponsor a variety of cultural events which are available to the public as well as to the campus community. This activity is a logical extension of their role as custodians of our cultural heritage.

One of the less understood and appreciated but more important functions of higher education is its responsibility to provide a protected environment for detached, impartial *criticism of the larger society* based on knowledge derived from disinterested study and research. This is a role which other institutions, such as the press, also play, but the resources possessed by higher education to seek truth and express it extend far beyond the capabilities of other institutions. The need to safeguard this function is the basic reason why higher educational institutions, as institutions, must not take partisan positions or engage in partisan activities. So complex are the pressures on urban-centered universities today and so intensely felt the great moral issues of our times, it would be naive to suppose that this proscription can be absolute. But if institutions systematically or aggressively violate the position of neutrality that society accords them, they will not only forfeit one of their principal claims to support but will also jeopardize one of their chief values to society.

A peculiarly American function of our system of higher education is the role it plays in providing the *administrative base for public service programs* of an operational or research nature. These programs are found in fields such as health care, defense, foreign assistance, agriculture, and community service and are generally externally financed. Although they frequently make some contribution to the educational program on campus, their existence is also

defended in many instances on the grounds that higher educational institutions have a responsibility for public service irrespective of any direct educational benefits involved. Despite the intrinsic value of many of these programs to external communities and to relationships with those communities, many institutions are coming to see that public service activities of this kind may be in partial conflict with the central functions of teaching and research.

Closely associated with the previous function is the service higher education performs in providing the logistical base for a *pool of specialized talent* which it makes quite freely available to external agencies such as government and industry. Outside consulting by faculty members, especially those serving in graduate professional schools, is an activity that has grown substantially and for some individuals provides a significant part of their income. From the point of view of the user agencies, having such a talent pool available is a distinct bargain, because the consulting fee paid to a faculty member is insignificant compared with the cost to his institution of maintaining his logistical base. It is certainly one of the hidden benefits to the nation for its support of higher education.

Nevertheless, faculty consulting has its severe critics. A great many students and some administrators feel that it causes a high rate of absenteeism among leading faculty members and conflicts with their primary responsibility for teaching and research.

Traditionally, higher education in the United States, as in many other countries, provided a means for the particularly ambitious and able person of middle or working class background to gain entry into a small elite at the top of the society, an elite which enjoyed considerable social prestige. As the proportion, however, of the eighteen to twenty-one year old age group enrolled in higher education steadily expanded—from 5 percent in 1910 to nearly 50 percent today—"going to college" gradually began to serve a different purpose. Today, for most Americans, it is virtually a prerequisite for entry into the middle class, or for remaining in it, if one is already there. Unquestionably this *class certification* function benefits minorities, the poor, and the lowly born in aiding them to enter the mainstream of American life. Nonetheless, it is intrinsically undemocratic and is probably what lies at the bottom of some of the current hostility to higher education.

Increasingly, a major function of higher education in this country is simply to serve as a form of occupation for an ever-growing proportion of youth during the transitional years from adolescence into adulthood—a kind of *way station* on the trail of life. Many young people seem to be at college for no better reason than want of an acceptable alternative. If there were anything but deadend jobs available for them, or even jobs at all, or if there were interesting, productive forms of national service widely available, they

might well prefer these alternatives. Lacking them, they drift into higher education.

This custodial function is clearly at odds with many of higher education's other functions. It consumes scarce resources, creates institutions of a size so massive they are virtually unmanageable, and creates conditions on campus which impede the progress of serious students. Nevertheless, the reluctant student with low motivation may gain considerable benefit from the experience, and perhaps society does too. A recent Carnegie Commission study, based on an analysis of data collected by social scientists over several decades, shows that people who have attended college are more tolerant in their attitudes toward other individuals and groups, more satisfied with their jobs, better paid and less subject to unemployment, more thoughtful and deliberate in their consumer expenditures, more likely to vote and to participate generally in community activities, and more informed about community, national, and world affairs. These are real benefits.

Although higher education has for many years, through its general extension programs and through part-time and evening study, offered *educational opportunities to adults*, this has certainly not been one of its most central functions. Nor have these activities enjoyed the prestige of undergraduate and graduate study by "regular" students. Attitudes are changing, however, both on and off the campus, and it now seems likely that the function of serving adults will assume much greater importance at a variety of institutions. It also seems likely that there will be a steadily growing demand by adults for the programs offered.

The provision of external degrees on a wide scale and lifelong entitlement to periods of study in a college or university are two new developments that may become quite general. Meeting the educational needs of adults is by no means inappropriate as a function of higher education, provided the activity is taken seriously and done well. Indeed, it may in the future be one of higher education's most important functions and one of the ways it brings greatest benefit to the nation.

In recent years most higher educational institutions have been obliged to offer work in two areas of liberal education, English and mathematics, that is frankly *remedial* and sometimes hardly even of secondary school level. A large part of this new function is associated with the extension of higher educational opportunity to able students with severely disadvantaged educational backgrounds. While this is a wholly laudable and defensible objective in today's circumstances, there can be little doubt the activity involved tends to be a drag on institutions and diminish their capacity to do genuine, college-level work.

A function of higher education which few of those who administer it care to recognize publicly is the role it has come to have as a major *purveyor of*

commercialized entertainment, principally through its football and basketball teams. Not only are intercollegiate contests in these sports themselves of wide public interest, being watched by millions on television, but college teams to a large degree serve as the training ground for professional teams. Not unsurprisingly, the enormous commercial importance of college sports leads to intense pressures toward their professionalization, pressures that are almost irresistible. Sometimes the resulting situation is rationalized on the grounds that having good teams helps maintain campus morale, gain legislative appropriations, win the support of alumni, or earn income for the support of other sports which do not have wide public appeal.

Substantial numbers of students are, however, beginning to question not only the ethics but also the appropriateness to higher education of "big time" college athletics. There seems to be a growing sensitivity about the exploitation of student athletes which may be involved and a new awareness that the values underlying this activity are probably inconsistent with the values of an academic institution. Organized athletics, of course, does have a legitimate place on the campus. It is the perversion of it that has become increasingly troublesome.

Among these thirteen functions, several go back to the beginnings of higher education in this country (and well before that elsewhere), several date from the latter half of the last century, and several are quite new, or are older functions that have acquired such changed meaning in recent years as to have become virtually new. These new and refurbished functions both reflect and have contributed to significant new developments in American life—developments such as urbanization, population growth, affluence, scientific and technological advance, the communications revolution, ever-increasing specialization of knowledge, and the commitment to equal opportunity. Our colleges and universities have not stood apart from the transformation of the society brought on by these phenomena. They have helped cause it, and they have, in turn, been profoundly affected by it.

In the American context this interpenetration of campus and society seemed perfectly natural. Our instinct, time and again, was to turn to higher education whenever there was a new job to be done, and as a consequence both the functions of higher education and the varied activities these functions tended to spawn steadily multiplied, with little thought on anyone's part of the consequences, or of the alternatives.

In view of the formidable burden the nation has placed on its higher educational system, the astounding fact is how well it has succeeded, not how badly it has failed. It has performed its traditional functions well, on balance, and in some cases with high distinction. It has adjusted to the pressures of mass participation in a remarkable manner. It has provided a great range of services to the larger society, on the whole competently and at reasonable

cost. The anomaly—the paradox—of the present situation is that a national institution which has risen magnificently to the challenges with which it has been confronted is now, by common agreement, in dire need of reform!

Approaches to reform

There would seem to be three possible approaches to reform. The first is to retain the system of higher education essentially as it is but make such changes as are necessary on particular campuses to alleviate the worst strains resulting from the attempt to discharge partially incompatible functions. This involves transferring some activities to institutions where they can be more appropriately performed and curtailing or eliminating others. It is a process of moving toward greater differentiation of functions among different types of institutions and rationalization of activities within institutions. This approach has much to be said for it, and it is already well under way. But necessary as it is, it is likely to fall considerably short of what is required for the fundamental reform of higher education.

A second approach, which has its advocates in the academy, entails unilateral action by higher education to reduce its range of functions and activities sharply, thereby "purging" itself and reverting to the only "proper" pursuits—teaching and scholarly research. This approach makes for some good rhetoric, but it runs so contrary to the American concept of the role of higher education in society, especially public higher education, as to be quite unrealistic and impractical as a way of reforming the *system*, however attractive it may be to an occasional individual institution.

A third approach, and the one that seems now to be needed, assumes that all or nearly all of the present functions of higher education are likely to be continued but that substantial modifications should be made in the nature of the burden that performing these functions throws on higher education. This approach recognizes that the decisions made by governmental and other external agencies, acting for the larger society, as to what to ask of the campus are as important to reform as anything done on campus. It suggests a need to find alternative ways of accomplishing some of the tasks higher education now performs. It implies major changes in the structure of the higher educational system and very possibly the invention of some alternative kinds of social institutions.

This approach will not entirely eliminate the present confusion of purposes in higher education, because the roles we assign to it in this country will continue to be numerous and varied. If energetically pursued, however, such an approach should at least reduce the pressures on higher education to a manageable level and allow it to concentrate more, and with easier conscience, on its most central functions.

Reducing the burden

Many of the kinds of specific measures that might be taken to lighten the burden on higher education have already been widely discussed. A substantial structural change proposed by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education would be the reduction by a year of the normal undergraduate course. Such a step would recognize the better preparation and greater maturity of many college entrants today. It could also provide, without further capital investment, some of the additional capacity that must be found in the coming decade for expanding enrollments. Finally, it would reduce the cost of a college education to society and to the individual and enable higher education to use its limited resources to benefit more people.

A second measure, which has not been widely discussed, would be to cull out of higher education an extensive array of vocational courses it now offers to prepare students for medium-level occupations and subprofessions. While such a step might have great merit, it would necessitate the development of a network of new institutions for "further education" with their programs closely tied in, perhaps on a "sandwich" basis, to a variety of manufacturing and service industries. It might also imply the further development of educational activities within industry.

This course would immediately raise a major question about the role of junior and community colleges. At the moment they are considered part of higher education. Should they be, or should we move in the direction of splitting postsecondary education into "further" and "higher" education and make the two-year college part of the former and almost entirely vocational in character? There would be many advantages to so doing but also some distinct disadvantages. One would be the danger, so well illustrated in Britain, of creating a set of institutions which enjoyed a level of prestige so much lower than that accorded academic institutions as to be socially deeply divisive. Another would be destruction of the very important concept of wide availability of a full range of postsecondary education, including the liberal arts, close to home and at minimal cost.

A third way of reducing the responsibilities now placed on higher education would be to transfer some of the research now done in universities to independent research institutes, or government installations, especially where the research is of a type deemed less appropriate for an academic institution. In some cases new nonprofit institutes might have to be created for the purpose. This is the course currently being followed by one leading university, which is transferring to a new organization being set up for the purpose defense-related research and development programs running to many millions of dollars annually. While a step such as this can relieve an institution of a responsibility that has become awkward or burdensome to it, the costs in terms of overhead payments forfeited, in jeopardy to the quality of

the research program, or in opportunities for graduate students foregone may be considerable.

In another area of functions, there is little question that some universities have made unwise decisions in agreeing to provide the administrative base for public service programs of a largely operational nature. Sometimes the administration of such a program is defensible as a research enterprise in itself, because it offers a practical milieu for student training, or simply because it is unavoidable as part of an institution's responsibility to the neighborhood in which it is situated. Nevertheless, academic institutions are not, on balance, well equipped to run large programs for the provision of services to the public, and unless there are powerful reasons for doing so, they could well leave the responsibility to others.

There is also reason to believe that the function performed by higher education of providing a talent pool for other institutions, principally government and industry, puts more of a burden on it than is generally recognized. Without by any means abolishing the function, universities could particularly at this time of faculty surplus, tighten up the administration of it so that it might better serve their interests.

Unquestionably the most important way that society could lighten the burden on higher education would be to find ways to relieve it of responsibility for the substantial numbers of young people who become students only because they feel they must avoid the stigma of *not* having attended college, or see no other way to spend the threshold years of adulthood that holds out any kind of promise to them.

This opens up the hard question of alternatives to higher education. What, indeed, can hundreds of thousands of eighteen to twenty-one year olds living in a highly urbanized, highly industrialized society do with their time? What kinds of maturing experiences can they have that will be constructive for the nation and for them, that will be sufficiently interesting to hold their attention, and will enable them to support themselves modestly, or at least contribute to their own support?

It is frequently suggested that the reluctant student would be better off out in the real world earning his living. But is this really possible? There are currently nearly fifteen million men and women in the eighteen to twenty-one age group, a number destined to rise to about seventeen million over the coming decade before beginning to decline gradually. Among the approximately nine million of this group in the labor force, which includes about two million also enrolled full- or part-time in higher education, the number unemployed is substantial. It is already well over a million and may well go higher. Furthermore, among those who are employed full-time, a great many hold jobs which offer little opportunity for the development of skills of more than a rudimentary kind.

The prospect, then, if hundreds of thousands of young men and women who are now, rather unwillingly, enrolled in higher education were to seek full-time employment instead, is that they would simply swell the ranks of the unemployed, or of those employed in deadend jobs, with all the negative social consequences that would entail.

There has also been a good deal of talk about national service programs for young people. Of these, the program most capable of absorbing additional young people in large numbers is military service. Such a course, however, whatever its merits or faults, would be widely unpopular, especially with the young people themselves. Nonmilitary service programs such as the Peace Corps and VISTA have been successful, but have obvious limitations in their capacity to absorb large numbers. Participation in them also requires a level of maturity which is by no means characteristic of all young people under twenty-one.

Moreover, there is the question of cost, a question which those who express concern over the tax burden of higher education would do well to remember. While the average annual real cost of having a student in college at the undergraduate level, including educational and general costs and board and lodging, is not more than $4000 (perhaps $6000 if foregone earnings are included), the cost of having the same person serve as a recruit in military service is $7500, as a Peace Corps volunteer nearly $10,000, and as a VISTA volunteer $7800. It should also be remembered that of the total annual expenditure on higher education only half comes from public tax sources, whereas in military and other national service programs the *entire* burden falls on the taxpayer.

A central task, then, if higher education is to be reformed through reduction of the pressures on it, is the invention of viable alternatives for some young people, alternatives that are at least as productive to society, as useful to the individual, and no more costly than going to college. This is no small assignment. It means the investment of huge sums of money to create new jobs with the potential for useful learning and personal satisfaction to those who hold them. It means the invention and financing of new low cost forms of national service. And perhaps it means some new ideas that no one has as yet even thought of.

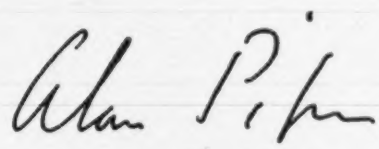
If really viable alternatives can be invented and they prove attractive to some of our youth, not only will the burden on higher education be lightened but the role it plays in providing virtually the only means of social certification for middle class status in American life may also be diminished. Helpful in this regard also will be the many new nontraditional degree programs that are springing up today. To the person who decides to forego college immediately after high school they offer a second chance for higher education and the earning of a degree at a later date.

The need for leadership

In summary, it is apparent that the higher educational system in this country performs a very wide range of functions which, collectively, have enormous economic and social value. It is also obvious, both in relation to this value and to the economic and social costs of alternative ways for young people to occupy their time, that public expenditure on higher education is a national bargain and not the extravagance many people believe it to be. Finally, it is clear that reform, given the nature of the present national dependence on higher education, will have to involve the entire society and will entail the invention of ways to relieve higher education of some of its burdens and to lighten others. An understanding and acceptance of these three propositions would seem to be necessary to any concerted movement toward fundamental reform.

Although the national debate over the financing of higher education which has been taking place in the Congress, in state legislatures, and in the mind of the public is, understandably, focused on the question of institutional survival, one would like to see it enlarged to include the subject of reform—reform as delineated by the three propositions noted above. Reform and finance are inextricably linked. There can be no real reform which does not involve the major sources of finance, and, at bottom, it is unrealistic to debate the level of support for higher education without coming to grips with the question of what we expect of it.

Ultimately, there must and will be many parties to the debate on reform—the federal and state governments, private industry, private givers, the public and, not the least, the higher educational community itself. The debate, if it is to be constructive and result in measures that will be beneficial both to the campus and to the nation, will require informed, farsighted, and objective leadership. It is much in the interests of higher education not to let leadership of the reform movement pass by default to others but to assume this role itself. Higher education can do this, however, only by convincing the public that it can put the general interests of the nation ahead of its own special interests, and in the present climate this will not be easy. Developing a national capacity to lead reform is unquestionably one of the greatest challenges facing the higher educational community today.



President